105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5,

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

854 When the mother takes her child along, she carries it on her back
853 in a piece of cloth (addún; see PUBL. CATH. ANTHROP. CONF., v. I, no. 5, Fig. 52, p. 231), in which the little one takes a sitting position, its feet dangling freely beneath, and its head protruding above. At one side, the addún passes over one of the shoulders of the carrier, mostly the right one, and at the other side, under the opposite arm, its tips being knotted in front; sometimes, although rarely, the addún passes under both arms. In order to give her child the breast, the only thing the mother has to do is to give the whole outfit a little shift, allowing the baby to pass under the left arm toward the front; but even without going to such extremes, a little freedom in the position of the little one will give the latter a chance occasionally to get a few mouthfuls from the left breast of its mother by pushing its head under her left arm. This way of carrying her infant does not hamper the mother in her ordinary work, such as cleaning the field, pounding rice, and so on; besides, her movements will very often serve the child for a swing and rock it to sleep.

854 When the baby becomes a little older it is frequently carried sitting on the hip in a straddling position one foot in front and one at the back (abbayán). An older brother or sister, or some other kind-hearted person occasionally takes the place of the mother and carries the child around in one of the ways just mentioned.

/824/ Besides the ordinary precautions that have to be taken to keep the
821 child from injury, anybody who is carrying a baby around in the
854 evening should not fail to pick a leaf of tabbán or cogon grass along
789 the road and tie it to the child's ankle. Then, as soon as they reenter the house, the child should be made touch one of the three stones (taxán) of the hearth, on top if possible; if this were not done the Isneg firmly believe that the little one would get sick sooner or later. Nothing of the kind has to be done, however, if the walk took place in the morning.

854 Incidentally it may be mentioned here that small babies dispense
301 with all clothing whatsoever. A string to which a few seeds or cowries
291 (kamusáy) have been attached, and which serves it for a bracelet or, more rarely, for a necklace, is considered more than sufficient for the time being, and a small piece of cloth laid under the little one when at rest takes the place of swaddling clothes. The greatest concern of the parents is to keep the child in good health, and the amulets, whether seeds or cowries, will look after that.

854 All rags that are used with newborn babies and which are called dappin (in some places dappán), for instance the cloth that is some-

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854 times spread under them, clothes used to wipe or clean them, occasional wrappers, etc., have to be washed inside the house. If they were washed in the river or brook, which is the customary place for that kind of work, the Isneg firmly believe that the child would die a premature death.

855 291 Later on, when a few years old, the child wears a little dress, whenever possible, and when a girl has attained perhaps her fourth or fifth year, the first piece of the customary Isneg outfit that is given to her is the *kalaŋkáŋ*, a string around the waist, which she wears under her little dress if she has any, and which will be used afterwards to insert the *talút* or G-string. In many cases a boy will be given an ordinary Isneg *bádo* or coat long before he wears the *abág* or G-string. But more of this for some other chapter.

2. *Abnormal Cases*

845 I shall now consider a few extraordinary cases.

Posthumous children, which of course are comparatively rare, are, as far as I have been able to ascertain, treated in exactly the same way as other children, and the Isneg do not seem to look upon the matter as anything out of the ordinary.

Nothing special is to be noted with reference to a child who dies in its mother's womb, and with reference to a mother who dies before her child is born; in such cases the Isneg have no means of saving the survivor, and the same rites are observed as in the case of the death of an ordinary adult. A mother who cannot bring forth her child is said to be *matalándn* or *masaltán* (the latter term also means "to be stopped", for instance, a bottle, etc.). The only practice the Isneg resort to in such a case is the *maxanito*, which is cutomary with any kind of sickness.

847 Voluntary abortion seems to be neither known nor practised. Here of course one is treading upon dangerous ground when inquiring into the matter, but nevertheless it was told me very emphatically by persons whose entire confidence I possessed that such practices were never resorted to. Do not some Isneg at least know about it, and does it not happen occasionally in some spot or another of the extensive Apayaw district? I do not know. It should be taken into consideration though that to the Isneg all children are welcome, and even in the case of a child that would be born out of wedlock, its premature death would not save the girl from the anger of her parents, nor the boy from his duty to marry the girl or to suffer some terrible punish-

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"As soon as an Isneg boy knows the meaning of shame, he should wear a G-string. From then on never go around stark naked, at least under ordinary circumstances. But if there is danger of your clothes getting wet, you can take them off of course: for instance, when mounting a raft, and sometimes also when riding a canoe, more especially when you have to tow the latter and enter the water at every turn, or when you have to cross rivers and brooks that are comparatively deep. You should not even take the trouble to put your G-string off and on at every step, provided of course you are alone or among your own people, and in the latter case provided you are circumcised, otherwise your companions would laugh at you. It is not shameful for a circumcised man to expose his genitalia and to walk along in a state of complete nudity, when there is a reason for doing so: nobody will be scandalized at that. Be very careful though never to appear naked when women may be espying you; there is no excuse for any man to expose his naked body to the gaze of women. That should be avoided by all means: would not these chatterboxes go around and tell everybody about it and make you the laughing stock of all the girls of the neighborhood?

"A girl should be modest. Do not fail to wear your G-string under your tapis as soon as you have attained a certain development; indeed, it might happen that your outer garment gets loose, and even in your ordinary movements it might sometimes be hard not to bare your body indecently, if no G-string is worn. A woman should always wear all her lower garments, except of course when she has to cross a deep stream or to take a bath, but then she should put them on again immediately afterwards. However, if men, her husband excepted, or strangers are around, she should prefer to wear wet clothes rather than take them off even for a single moment. Grown-up girls should always wear their jacket; they should never expose their breasts to the gaze of anybody. If you are a married woman, you need not be so meticulous; but cover yourself though when leaving the house, at least when strangers are around. Exposing the breasts from under the jacket is always allowed when giving a baby the breast; nor is it usually shameful to leave the breasts partially uncovered, when you are carrying a child or when a little one is otherwise present. Take this as a rule: except in the case of water sports and so on, and in the exclusive presence of persons of your own sex, never expose your genitalia, and, if you are as yet unmarried, your breasts. For the rest, you need not be very

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577 834 291 particular, although it would certainly be utterly immodest for any grown-up woman purposelessly to take off her tapis completely, even though seen only from behind; and going around half-naked is not to be recommended, even to a married woman, when in the presence of outsiders."

In 1927, while on my way to Karagawan, I followed the course of the river which I had to cross at every turn; so my Isneg carrier took off his G-string at the first crossing and did not put it on again, except on a certain occasion, when we were approaching a house. "Wait a moment", he said, "I shall put on my G-string, as who knows but there may be some women at home there espying me".

At the teachers' house I had a talk with the mother of one of the Iloko teachers, and, in the course of the conversation, she related to me how astonished the Isneg women of that place had been, when she had told them that she wore no G-string. "But suppose your saya came off, would not your genitalia be exposed to view?" they had exclaimed, with horror painted all over their faces. The Isneg have a special qualifying term for an Isneg woman who wears no G-string: she is called *pańńáw*.

577 834 291 177 Several years ago, there came an order, I believe from the Bureau of Education, that all school children should pass a physical examination before the physician of the district; but very soon the order had to be revoked, as otherwise it was feared that an uprising would occur among our Mountain people. The Isneg in particular could find no plausible reason for any man causing a girl to take off her garments in his presence.

836 577 684 "All Isneg boys should be careful not to render a girl pregnant: this is one of the delinquencies that are abhorred more than anything else among the Isneg. You may be inclined to sow your wild oats; that is but natural, but here you have to look out. You should never under any pretext impregnate a girl whom you could not marry afterwards, and even though you could make her your wife, it would still be a dangerous thing to do; suppose some obstacle comes in the way, you know the consequences; you know very well that the relatives of the offended girl will get the *awát*: they will raid your house and carry away your precious jars, your beads and all that is valuable. There is no mercy for a boy who has committed a crime like that; so do not be rash: fornication is a dangerous thing. When you go to court the girls (*mamabáy*) in the evening, use love charms and try to win the girl you love; to force her against

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-án* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkuríra-*, *kurírkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

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867 means "to suffer erection", and is used only of boys and girls who
831 have not yet attained the age of puberty; another term is in use for adults.

867 And so we have reached the period between the age at which the
834 little one wears lower garments for the first time and that of puberty. Formal teaching about the first elements of sex morality usually starts
• 291 about this time, and so little girls of this age are generally very modest; although boys are not so meticulous. Provided they are
858 circumcised, the latter do not mind very much exposing their naked
183 body, and even when as yet uncircumcised, there is no comparison between their behavior and that of their modest little sisters. For the rest much freedom still exists, as my reference to the special term just explained seems to indicate, so that it might be called a miracle if the youngsters live a chaste life once they have attained the age
[835] of puberty. Recently a young man of some eighteen years old was arrested for having violated his little sister who is barely six years old; he said he wanted "to try".

836 Grown-up girls are of course much better in this respect than boys,
183 and both sexes usually observe the laws of modesty that have been taught them by their parents according to the Isneg code; but in
577 general I think that the morals of young people are decidedly loose. *Magdaldallów* (joking one another, boys and girls), *magkabbál* (to
867 finger a girl's breasts; said only of boys), and similar terms, seem to indicate that the teaching of their elders is not very successful. Add to this that young men have free access at night to all houses where girls of marriageable age may be found, and it will not be wondered at that chastity is a rare flower among Isneg youth.

836 The fear of pregnancy and of its consequences is of course a great
183 deterrent to young people of both sexes, but, even leaving aside the question of self-pollution, simple fornication must not be so exceed-
867 ingly rare after all. It is true that my informants usually assure me that coitus is never practised among unengaged boys and girls of mature age; but this in my opinion cannot be accepted without a grain of salt. Indeed, the same men have also told me at first that continence is imposed upon engaged couples before their marriage, but I have learned since that the latter are free to sleep together as often as they wish even though none of the usual ceremonies has yet been performed,—and this I now know to be a universal custom all over Apayaw.

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and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads: a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently antiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars that have been imported recently usually command a much lower price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually, however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg-plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

During the *amómân* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

No really important business can be transacted, of course, among the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

All during the *amómân* the men conduct everything that is connected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not interfere in the least.

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What has been said of the *alíwá* or hatchet as a man's tool, may also be said of the *ikó* as a woman's tool: no Isneg woman goes to work without her *ikó*, which is nothing else but a diminutive headaxe, usually of the *binarawód*-type, and which she carries stuck in her headband. While she makes use of several other implements, as the occasion demands, the *ikó* is the only one that is almost constantly needed.

The handle of the *ikó* is ordinarily made of wood, like the helve of the *alíwá*,[2] but there are a few women who make use of the *kiraddón*, which is all iron. The latter type of *ikó* has a curved handle, and its ring or *palábo* is mostly spherical, instead of being cylindrical like that of the ordinary *ikó* and of the *alíwá* or headaxe.

Some of these *ikó* are exceedingly small, the length of the blade (not its breadth) being about one half of that of an ordinary penknife: these are called *paílot*. A small *ikó* that is very old and has seen much service, is called *paginát*: its handle is always made of wood, and consequently straight.

Other implements used by Isneg women will be treated in their proper place.

When an Isneg woman works in the field, she is rarely seen without her *sarikaw*, which is a very broad hat, sometimes one yard or more in diameter, almost flat, and more or less resembling a native winnow. The *sarikaw* is made of plaited palm leaves trimmed with strips of bamboo or of rattan or of both.

In order to avoid tedious repetitions I think it not amiss to give here a short description of the *inapúzan* or betel for chewing, which the Isneg frequently offer to the spirits and which I shall have to mention again and again in the course of this paper. The ordinary *inapúzan* as used by the Isneg, consists of a section of betel nut (*bowá*) and a sprinkling of lime (*ápug*) enveloped in a piece of betel leaf (*zawód*), while the one offered to the spirits, although essentially the same, has a few special characteristics.

When preparing *inapúzan* for the spirits, instead of using ripe betel nuts, which are the only ones fit for chewing, the Isneg choose a bunch of immature nuts (*lúsit*), and these they cut into tiny pieces (*riígám*), which are much smaller than those used for betel chewed by man. The lime is the same as that used in ordinary *inapúzan*:

[2] Cf. op. cit.

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241 (Codiaeum variegatum [L.] Blume), croton. Leaves very variable in 824 form and color.

The *patoddóń* (Euphorbia neriifolia, L.), a fleshy shrub.

The *sinandilá*, (Nopalea coccinellifera [Mill.] Salm-Dyck.), cochineal fig.

The *binaág* (Helianthus annuus, L.), sunflower or turnsole.

[301] The *tugnúr*: A herb about half a yard tall. Its red fruits, strung on a thread, are worn around the head by boys and girls.

The *báoń* (Crinum asiaticum, L.). Flowers white and fragrant.

The *katańláy* (Alosia cristata, L.), cockscomb.

The *batónit* (from the Spanish *botones*, "buttons"), (Gomphrena globosa, L.); globe amaranth.

The *apasopáso* (Alternanthera versicolor, Regel). Leaves green and red or purplish.

And several others mentioned before, chiefly when treating tobacco amulets.

Cultivated for other uses

241 824 The *xaicád* (Piper betle, L.), betel or betel pepper.

The *dilawá*: A variety of domesticated betel with large yellow leaves.

[220] The *túba* (Croton tiglium, L.). Its fruits are used for poisoning fish.

The *sańláy* or *kápat* (Ceiba pentandra [L.] Gaertn.), God tree, ceiba tree, Bombay ceiba, silk-cotton tree or kapok tree.

[291] The *arinosá*: A tree whose bark is used for G-strings, headbands, strings, etc. Its leaves are very large.

The *darapiniyá* (derived from *piniyá*, Spanish *piña*, "pineapple"), *magi* or *amaxáy* (from the Spanish *maguey*), (Agave cantula, Roxb.), [283] maguey, sisal hemp or century plant. Its fiber is used for thread to sew clothes.

The *lubixán* (Sansevieria zeylanica [L.] Willd.), bowstring hemp. It prevents smallpox from entering the village.

000 to be quite a differenc in their customs and dialects.
197 Along the length of the Apayao River there are three
162 separate groups. They can understand each other about the way that a Spaniard understands an Italian.

DRESS

291 The ordinary dress of the people is simple. The
[302] men wear breechcloths or G-strings, *abag*. They keep their hair long and coil it on the head. It is confined with a length of cloth wrapped turban fashion.
[304] The hands and wrists are tattooed in the boat pattern.
[142] The teeth are blackened. Each man has a small, de-
[276] corated bag, *bulsa*, in which he keeps his betel nut,
[293] *buyo*, lime bottle, tobacco, flint, tinder, and other small belongings. This is tucked, either into the G-string or in a belt woven of rattan. The woman, when about
301 her work, wears only a tapis. She has a necklace of
523 ancestral beads, shaped from chalcedony, silver and carved amulet bones. There are also patterned porcelain beads in the string. Many of these were obtained from the Chinese when they were active traders here some five centuries ago. Gold does not appear
[304] to be used. The woman has boat-pattern tattoo marks
[291] on the back of her hands as an aid to beauty. The
[854] small children make their skins do as clothing. Babies are carried about by the mothers in slings passed over one shoulder.

292 When all dressed up and ready to go to a party,
301 the woman wears a dark tapis, *aquen;* a cloth girdle, *bajacat;* a short-waisted, long-sleeved, black, pull-on shirt, *badiyo,* all characteristically embroidered in red; a head cloth with spangles, *laddong* and *saban,* topped

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This girl is supposed to be cultivating her camotes.

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This couple grew old together in Apayao.

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Girl dancing at a feast.

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Another characteristic dance pose.

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Students from the Apayao River, at the Trinidad Agricultural High School.

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Students from Nabuañgan River, at the Trinidad Agricultural High School.

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Students from Luna River at the Trinidad Agricultural High School.

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Students from Bayog River, at the Trinidad Agricultural High School.